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Rude sweep her harp, that downward lies,  
And 'moan amongst its trembling strings.

Scar'd with a sound he did not know,  
Peace-loving sleep dared not to stay,  
But sighing for Ierne's woe,  
He bent his noiseless flight away.

Ierne starting, paus'd a-while :  
Too true, she cries, ye powers above !  
Dread Discord comes from that fair isle,  
Where still I look'd for peace and love.

Thought-rapt she stood in dumb amaze,  
When on the western mountain's height,  
To sounds seraphic, rose a blaze,  
Of mildly-beaming, heav'nly light.

There in the midst, loose-rob'd, was seen  
Sweet Hope, that sooths our ev'ry ill,  
Beck'ning with calm and smiling mien,  
Poor, sad Ierne up the hill.

The woe-begone thus Hope address'd :—  
" Lift up thy looks, Ierne, cheer,  
" For know we come at heav'n's behest,  
" To sooth thy sorrow, check thy fear.

" Thy cares, thy dangers, soon shall cease :  
" Thy days of tears and sighs are gone—  
" Thy foulest feuds shall turn to peace—  
" Thus shall the will of heav'n be done.

" Pluck from thy breast that yew away,  
" Be steady, cool, collected, calm ;  
" So shalt thou soon a wreath display  
" Of Shamroc woven with the Palm.

Words so bland, as dew descending  
Lifts the drooping lilly's head,  
Rais'd the fair Ierne bending,  
Fairest flower in Nature's bed.

My fervent thanks, high heaven, she cries,  
Be ever, ever, given to thee ;  
Thou'st chas'd my sorrow, tears and sighs ;  
Thou'st sent me HOPE and LIBERTY.

TREBOR.

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## TO THE PUBLIC.

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THE period which we at first assigned to our labours, has not yet arrived. An Incorporated Union of Ireland with Great Britain has been proposed to the Legislatures of both countries by their respective Ministers, and that measure is not yet abandoned. A Parliamentary defeat, and the opinion of the people, which

the Irish Minister has acknowledged is hostile to an Union, have not been sufficient to convince his understanding, or to produce a permanent influence on his conduct. Even when he was mortified and humbled by the patriotism of his native country, while he was yet agonized by the uprightness of its senate, and still smarting from the lash of honest and eloquent invective, he has, with that arrogance which generally accompanies inexperience, declared his determination to persevere in a project, which he calls *right*, and the wisdom of the nation has decided to be *wrong*. The vanquished Secretary has announced, even at the moment when he was overthrown, that he waits only for the acquisition of new strength, to repeat his attack. While the question of Union remains thus circumstanced, we would be well justified in continuing our exertions, which the perverseness of the Minister will not permit us to terminate. But knowing the general sentiment on this subject, and holding the Minister pledged not to revive, during the present session, the discussion of this question, we deem it expedient to suspend the publication of this paper, until a future occasion shall call for our services. If there be faith or truth in his Majesty's Ministers, the people of this country will enjoy at least the repose of one year, from the agitation of that topic, which, of all others, is most likely to disturb their quiet for ever.

When the Editors of the *Anti-Union* first solicited the attention of the Public, this kingdom was threatened with the greatest calamity which can befall a country, the loss of its independence, the abolition of its liberties. The public mind, exhausted by those strong feelings which had been kept in continued activity for six months, by a sanguinary rebellion, which it required all the courage and all the strength of the country, to suppress, was suddenly called on by authority, to consider of surrendering that constitution, which they had so dearly defended; and of submitting the liberties and independence of Ireland to the mercy of a British Legislature. The people of Ireland, stunned by a stroke so unexpected, and enfeebled by the extraordinary exertions they had made, in defending their existing establishments, and the connexion with the sister country, heard the monstrous proposition with a kind of silent astonishment, which, tho' it expressed sufficiently the horror which they felt, yet promised to the insidious enemy, but too easy a triumph. It was apparent the nation was panic struck; it was obvious that if it were not roused to thought, and excited to view with a steady eye the precipice to which it was brought, all must be lost. Among the first who undertook this arduous, but necessary task, were the Editors of this paper. Tho' exhausted like others by those severe services which every loyal man in Ireland had felt himself bound to undergo, they again resolved to sacrifice private interest, to public duty; they came forward to warn, to animate the people of Ireland to resist a measure, which, every prudent man saw, involved the degradation and ruin of the country.

To effect this purpose, they considered it the safer and

the wiser way to address the understanding, the reason, and the honest passions of the Irish people, by a periodical publication, confined exclusively to this momentous topic, than to speak to them thro' those polluted and suspicious vehicles, the public prints, in which too often faction pursues its foul purpose, and insinuates into the public mind, rather the poison of sedition, or the pestilential doctrines of despotism, than the wholesome lessons of political truth. It is now eleven weeks since this work, having in view solely this object, commenced. Whether it has been carried on during that period, with that regard to decorum, to truth, to the honest principles of enlightened and steady loyalty, to a love of regulated liberty, of British Constitution and British Connexion, which it set out with professing, it is for the public alone to judge, and to them we appeal. Before their tribunal we shall appear without trembling, conscious that if in any casual instance we appear to have deviated from those land-marks by which we endeavoured to guide our course, the deviation has been involuntary, and by the liberal and candid will be attributed rather to inadvertence than to a dereliction of those principles which we have professed to love and cherish! Of the degree of ability which may have marked these compositions, it would be still more indelicate in us to judge, than even of the manner in which the work has been conducted. To the impartial decision of the public, therefore, we commit this question also, declaring however, that whether in that respect the public opinion shall be favourable or adverse, we shall still feel pride in reflecting that our talents, whatever they may be, have been devoted gratuitously to our country. What we conceived the crisis called for, we have done, not only unawed by the frown of power, and undeluded by the allurements of court favour, but unrewarded by emolument of any kind. Our labours have been a free-will offering, and whatever degree of personal inconvenience we may have suffered from the steady and faithful discharge of a duty which we imposed upon ourselves, we feel amply repaid by the flattering patronage with which our country has honoured us. Such is the brief history of a work which we are now about to close—Such are the impressions with which we are about to withdraw from the awful presence of the public.

Having thus shortly stated our conduct and our motives, and thrown ourselves on the justice as well as the indulgence of the public, we cannot help adverting as we conclude our labours, to two questions which will probably be put to us by our readers—The one, in what state we leave the great question of Union? The other, why we *now* conclude our labours after having continued them to the present period?—The two questions are connected, and we shall answer them together:—For the present session, then, we have already declared, we conceive the question of Union to be at rest. The Parliament and the people of Ireland have spoken so loudly and explicitly their disgust of that measure, that even the temerity of the British Premier

will not immediately venture to obtrude it again on their nauseated palate. But it is not long, we predict, that the constitution of Ireland will be safe from his attacks. It requires no sagacity to perceive that a systematic plan is formed, or to foresee that attempts will be made, to merge this ill-fated country in the great mass of the British empire. For a defeat of such attempts, whenever they shall be made, we look with confidence to that spirit and virtue in the people and their representatives which have been already exerted with such signal success. That it is intended to repress that spirit and curb that virtue it would perhaps be scepticism to doubt; but whatever means may be resorted to for those purposes, if the people be but temperate and firm, if they can learn to forget their divisions and cultivate in unison that love of independence in which must ever consist the true and only safeguard of the constitution, those means must fail—for we cannot be persuaded that the intellect of Irishmen, barbarous and uncultivated as it has been represented, can ever be deceived by the feeble sophistry which represents an Union with Great Britain as consistent with the freedom or promotive of the interests of Ireland;—they cannot then become a prey to the ambition of any minister until they consent to sacrifice liberty to party vengeance, or cease to think that liberty worth defending. Convinced, therefore, that there exists no present danger of an Union, however, likely it may be, that the persevering policy of the minister will at a future day again try his strength with the people of Ireland, it strikes us that the continuation of a paper exclusively appropriated to the exposure and resistance of that measure would be superfluous. While the danger was imminent it was necessary to be vigilant and active. While it appeared rather to be concealed than to have vanished it was the duty of those who had stood forward to resist it to continue at their post. But when the enemy has withdrawn from our gates, though but to return, perhaps, with recruited vigour at a future day, it would be an idle waste of strength and vigilance to harraß the garrison with unremitted duty.

We have already said that the people of Ireland have decided on this measure, and that to the decisive tone in which they spoke their reprobation of it, Ireland is now indebted for its political existence. Corruption, however, has affected to disbelieve, and has had the boldness to deny, that the public sentiment on this question has been declared, because a great portion of the people have remained silent. But who that knew the situation of this country at the moment when the British minister so cruelly forced the question of Union on a convulsed people, could rationally have hoped from the most rooted and universal abhorrence of the measure so general a declaration against it? Could it have been expected, that men engaged in protecting their property and their lives against the attack of a powerful and disguised enemy, in the bosom of their country, at the very doors, should have laid down their arms and assembled to discuss a political topic, which even the minister himself declares to be of great intricacy and calling for cool, and

serious, and deliberate consideration? Could it have been hoped that in counties where not only a rebel force kept the inhabitants in a state of perpetual activity and alarm, but where the existence of martial law rendered every meeting of the people dangerous if not impracticable, the freeholders suspending their fears and forgetting their danger should have braved every obstacle in order to declare an opinion hostile to the executive government, and of course rendering them still more obnoxious to the severe infliction of military? Yet even in this state of the country, power convulsed, alarmed, smarting under military execution and dreading every evil which an immense military force could inflict, has the nation been silent? No! From every province, from a great proportion of the counties of Ireland, from the metropolis, the seat of government, and under the immediate and strong influence of the castle, the public detestation of this base project has been declared not vaguely or coldly, but with an explicit energy which has appalled and defeated the most bold and enterprising minister which ever held the reins of our government. What have we seen on the other hand? What has the sophistry of Mr. Pitt, the enormous patronage of the castle, and all the activity, the arts, the threats and the promises of its numerous emissaries, been able to effect? In the wide extent of the kingdom of Ireland they have procured one solitary declaration of assent to the measure! He that in these circumstances affects to doubt whether the sense of the nation has been declared, requires to convince him a degree of proof which the ordinary course of human affairs cannot afford him. It were to insult the understanding of the public to suppose that they entertained any scruples in such a case.

We cannot allow ourselves to take leave of the public without offering our congratulations, and expressing the proud satisfaction we have felt from some events to which this question has given birth. We had been accustomed to hear the corruption of parliament and the influence of the crown made common subjects, as well for the declamation of honest but desponding politicians, as for the calumny of seditious demagogues; we knew how seldom the king's ministers had been effectually resisted, but we confidently cherished the hope that our constitution contained within itself an energy equal to its own preservation. Recent experience had taught us that the voice of the people constitutionally expressed is awful and commanding. We knew that there was in the legislature much manly and inflexible integrity, and we thought that even corruption itself might revolt from the measure of an incorporated Union. The event has justified our reasoning and realized our hopes; and we may venture to predict that it shall not be forgotten, while the constitution of Ireland endures, that the death-blow which was aimed at its existence was ward off by the representatives of the people. True to the sacred trust reposed in them, the majesty of that body resisted the power and withstood the seductions of the minister. The efforts of those who sustained the honourable character of champions of their country on the evenings when pa-

triotism obtained so splendid a triumph shall live in the memory and gratitude of their fellow-subjects and posterity. Superior in talent as in integrity, they displayed powers equal to the occasion, and their eloquence, ardent and irresistible, was worthy of men engaged in so momentous a contest. The magnitude of the question will perpetuate the remembrance of an incident novel and unprecedented in the history of parliamentary debate, and it may be useful to future times to know that the force of government was unable to bear so unequal a conflict, and that the minister saw with a melancholy concern many of his adherents desert even in the heat of battle to the standard of truth and reason. Thus, the Commons House of Parliament has proved itself to be not merely what faction is fond of representing it, a theatre for the exhibition of a drama, the incidents and catastrophe of which are preconcerted, but that it is what the founders of our constitution intended, a deliberative assembly, in which the members regulate their conduct by the conviction of their understandings. Thus, also, we have seen that common calumny refuted, which accuses the representative body as careless of the welfare and regardless of the sentiments of the constituent, and we derive a new love for the constitution, from observing both classes co-operate in its preservation.

That constitution, we are of the number of those who have always sincerely and rationally admired—we loved it not only because ~~exists~~ it is found to secure to man the greatest degree of those blessings which society is instituted to protect, but because also it appeared from its structure, from the nice adaptation of its parts, but above all from its being founded on the broad basis of the people, to be more likely to resist with effect, those assaults of ambition under which all constitutions have, sooner or later, perished. Recent events confirm us in our attachment, for recent events have taught us, and we fondly hope will convince Irishmen, that even under the existing and enormous weight of patronage and corruption, the constitution yet lives, and lives with an energy which will long ensure its existence. A minister possessing more power, more influence and less principle than any whom history has marked as the enemy of British liberty, has grappled with that constitution while labouring under the pressure of circumstances the most inauspicious that the imagination can conceive. Did it succumb in the contest? No! Though manacled by laws which suspended all the functions of freedom; though prostrated before a military government, which the melancholy circumstances of the times forced into existence; the Genius of the Constitution, roused by the insolence which presumed that its passiveness was debility, and its patience tameness, rose in its might—the combined force of two ministers wielding the patronage of two countries, and exerting it with the most unbridled license, was forced to shrink from the contest—they retired defeated and disgraced from the conflict, and reluctantly left to the people that liberty and independence which they vainly hoped to extinguish for ever.

E N D.